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Vol. 53, No. 4 Whole Number 424

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at* 20 *West* 40*th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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HERE AND ON THE WAY

Our cover picture this month shows 17-year-old Hoover Neal of Bakewell, Tennessee, sitting in the driver's seat of his uncle's tractor. Neal drives the tractor about half the time it is in use. Besides tilling Uncle Troy Martin's acres, the tractor is used for custom work on other farms in the Bakewell community. Like most of his land, Martin's tractor was bought by wages received for working on a night shift in a Chattanooga industrial plant after the day's farm work was done.

James Rorty, who writes "Black, White, and TVA" (P. 114), says that after the publication of *Our Master's Voice* (1934) people "regarded me apparently as a reformed crook." This book, dedicated to Thorstein Veblen, "describes the progressive seizure and use, by business, of the apparatus of social communication in America." In World War I, Mr. Rorty was a stretcher bearer with the ambulance service of the U. S. Army and was awarded a DSC for service in the Argonne offensive.

For four years he was an advertising copy writer, and then by turns a newspaper and magazine writer, editor, and author. He now lives in Flatbrookville, N. J., and is working on a book on nutrition. He is married to Winifred Raushenbush, who writes on the Negro and other minority problems.

Illustrations by Lewis Seligson (p. 109) and Brumsic Brandon (p. 123), a young colored artist who frequently does drawings and sketches for the *Saturday Review of Literature* and other magazines.

Pursuing the subject of jim crow in federal prisons discussed in our March issue by James Peck and Albon Man, we wish to quote a few excerpts from a front-page article, "Racism is Routed in U. S. Prison," in the March issue of *The Conscientious Objector*.

"Segregation of colored and white inmates of the Federal Correctional Institution here [Milan, Michigan], was broken down last month [February] for the first time in the institution's history. The change came suddenly and unexpectedly after several years of attempts by inmates to overcome the color barrier."

The fight began in 1942 when Charles Wellman, a conscientious objector, was "deprived of privileges and later transferred to Chillicothe Reformatory in Ohio for refusing to accept the segregation pattern. . . . " Some of the men involved in the four-year fight were Linwood Dodge, Milton Kramer, Roger Axford, white; Joseph Guinn and Wallace Nelson, colored.

We shall continue in the May issue our study of restrictive covenants. Loren Miller will describe how these pacts work in California.

Moss Kendrick will write a piece on Liberia, which celebrates its centennial this year. Other articles in the offing are studies of trusteeships as the new imperialism, by George Padmore; a report on the Virgin Islands by J. Antonio Jarvis; and an analysis of jim crow in white churches by James Farmer.

We hope to publish George Houser's piece on his experiences with jim crow in the May number. Originally scheduled for April it was crowded out at the last minute by more urgent material.

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College and School News

Examples of art work by HAMPTON INSTITUTE students were on display at the Ingersoll Memorial Library in Brooklyn, N. Y., February 11-23. The art department also sent an exhibit of painting, sculpture and ceramics to the city museum in Evansville, Ind. A request has been received for a similar exhibit in Detroit.

On February 10-16 the college observed Negro history week with a series of events sponsored by the Negro History Society, undergraduate organization on the campus.

Fifth annual conference on adult education and the Negro was held at the college March 4-6. Conference theme was "Adult Education and the Needs of the People." Among the speakers were Julius A. Thomas of the National Urban League; J. H. Davis, specialist in Negro education for TVA; Morse Cartwirght, director of the American Association for Adult Education; Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of Shaw; and Willard S. Townsend.

Recent changes and additions to the staff with the opening of the second semester on February 11 are Dr. B. A. Turner, associate professor of vocational education, appointed acting director of the division of trades and industries following the death of Jean Gilman; Douglas R. Turner, acting director of the veterans' bureau in the absence of George C. Cooper. Miss Helen L. Kendall, assistant professor of art, is on leave for study in the field of arts.

Among staff members formerly on leave, now returned to the campus, are Lawrence P. Barbour, assistant to the business manager; Joseph W. Gilliard; instructor in the art department; Miss M. Evelyn Lawlah, associate professor of social science; and Edward T. Lipscombe, journeyman and instructor in the printing department.

New educational staff members include: Mrs. Betty W. Davis, head resident of South Kelsey Hall; Leo Diesendruck, part-time instructor in mathematics; Miss Alice J. Gear, instructor in English; Miss Alvce W. Morris, head resident of Winona Lodge; Miss Fannye L. Pinkney, substitute instructor in music; Clarence R. White, associate professor of mathematics; and staff sergeant Fred R. Edwards assistant instructor in ROTC.

A recent speaker at the college was Dr. Lloyd A. Hall, distinguished industrial chemist from Chicago, who

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pointed out that Negro colleges, with few exceptions, have placed very little emphasis on complete training for the professions of chemists, bacteriologists, physicists, and engineers.

He also mentioned the fact that there are now about 250 Negro chemists employed in industry.

A total of 94 men and women students are on the honor rolls of the college for the first semester, T. C. Meyers, registrar, has announced.

Sixteen students were placed on the "dean's honor list" at the DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE for the first semester.

According to recent announcements by U. S. Senators C. Douglass Buck and James M. Tunnell, the Federal Housing Authority has alloted the college a dormitory unit to accommodate thirty veterans.

Dr. Howard D. Gregg, president, was a recent speaker in Providence, R. I., on the occasion of the celebration of the second anniversary of the Providence USO. The college choir, under the direction of Mrs. Genevieve Weisner, was featured in a broadcast over station WDEL, Wilmington, Del., on race-relations-day Sunday.

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) is in line to receive a grant of $462,500 from the state of Missouri to provide dormitories, primarily for veterans. A provision of the appropriation requires the college to match this sum.

Recent events at Lincoln include the third annual School for Ministers, a piano recital by Mrs. Kathryn Haygood Duncan, and observation of Negro history week.

F. Nathaniel Gatlin, instructor of music and director of the band and orchestra, has been auditioned before Valdimer Golschmann, conductor of the St. Louis Symphony orchestra, for a position in that music group.

President Sherman D. Scruggs was recently appointed a member of the Greater Jefferson (Mo.) City committee by Mayor Jesse N. Owens.

More than sixty ministers were in attendance at the winter ministers' institute of the FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE. Director of the institute was Dr. Robert L. Jones, pastor of the St. Mary Baptist Church, St. Augustine. Aim of the institute was to bring together a variety of helpful activities for rural and urban ministers. President Tilley has also announced detailed plans for a religious extension service to be run by the college.

New instructors added to the staff of the college are Mrs. Susie Greene, Miss Louise L. Howard, and Rev. Robert M.

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Pugh, who has been named chaplain and instructor in religion.

During the current college year, TEXAS COLLEGE has had a total enrollment of 656 students; 510 women; 146 men; and 53 veterans. Sixty-two students made the honor roll during the first quarter. Highest ranking student was Miss Margaret Surrey, member of the senior college class.

FISK UNIVERSITY announces the addition of Wilson Q. Welch, Jr., to its department of religion. Mr. Welch assumed his new duties on February 5 as assistant professor of rural church life. A native of South Carolina, Mr. Welch received his A. B. degree from Livingstone college, Salisbury, N. C., a B. D. degree from Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and has completed most of the reqirements for the Ph. D. degree at Drew university, Madison, N. J.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, head of the department of social science at Fisk, is one of the twenty educators on the American Commission which will formulate the new program of education for Japan.

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE reports 81 students on its honor roll for the first semester of 1945-46, according to registrar Edw. N. Wilson. The breakdown shows sixteen seniors, thirteen juniors, eighteen sophomores, and thirty-four freshmen.

Dr. H. L. VanDyke, head of the department of science at the ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, is now working on a research problem in conjunction with three of the country's outstanding chemists, Dr. R. C. Huston, dean of the graduate school at Michigan State College; Dr. E. L. Geemer, research associate; and Dr. W. E. Barrett, of the Texas Oil company.

Among recent events at SHAW UNIVERSITY were the observance of National Negro Newspaper Week, staging of *Antigone* by the college dramatic club, an address by Mrs. Julia P. Borders of the National Federation of Women's clubs of Atlanta, Ga., and a concert of the college Choral Society in Wilmington, N. C.

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The Crisis is now located in the WENDELL WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING 20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

ceremonies were observed at STORER COLLEGE February 22, with the main address being delivered by Dr. Daniel G. Hill of the Howard university school of religion.

A national advisory committee of eighty-two men and women in many sections of the country, with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as its chairman, has been appointed to aid in the third annual campaign of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, which is attempting to raise $1,300,000 for thirty-three Negro private colleges.

Under the sponsorship of the Theological Seminary of JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY, a symposium on the "Minister and the Returning Soldier" was held on February 11. Ministers from all denominations were present.

The second annual exhibit of Negro art was a special feature of Negro history week held at WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE. The exhibit was under the direction of William H. Fletcher.

Governor Clarence W. Meadows of West Virginia addressed the veterans of three wars at the college on February 24.

The college drama department has been well represented on Broadway during the current season. George Oliver of *Strange Fruit* is now in *Cyrano de Bergerac;* Milton Wood, last seen in *Anna Lucasta* and *Carmen Jones,* is now appearing in *St. Louis Woman;* and Carolyn Hill (Mrs. Stewart in private life) appeared in Robert Ardrey's *Jeb,* now closed. These former students of the college were all active in the College Players' Organization.

Sixty-third annual observance of founder's day was celebrated at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE January 25, with Dr. Channing H. Tobias of New York as main speaker.

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Fletcher Photo

Part of the senior class in pharmacy, Howard, taken during pharmacy week.

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY observed founder's day February 15 with two special programs. Guest speaker was Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, president of the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College.

The board of trustees of the college announces approval of a plan for the establishment of a retirement fund for all regular full-time employees of the college. Normal retirement age under the plan will be sixty-five.

Among recent speakers at TALLADEGA COLLEGE have been Dr. Constance Warren of Sarah Lawrence, Bronxville, N. Y.; Miss Jean Fairfax, dean of women at Tuskegee; Rabbi Louis Grafman of Temple Emanu-el of Birmingham, Ala.; and Dr. M. R. Taraki of Afghanistan, India.

A. B. Jones of the department of social sciences is engaged in studying the problem of educating American students in better understanding of the problems of minorities.

BENNETT COLLEGE student and faculty representatives recently spent an eight-day tour observing extra-curricular activities, personnel services, and student government in thirteen southern colleges and schools.

First Negro woman to receive an appointment in the Akron, Ohio, public school system is Miss Mary Kate Moore, an instructor in music. Miss Moore, a graduate of Central High and Akron university, will instruct in all grades through the sixth at the Leggett and Miller schools.

There are now three Negro teachers in the Akron public school system, one woman and two men.

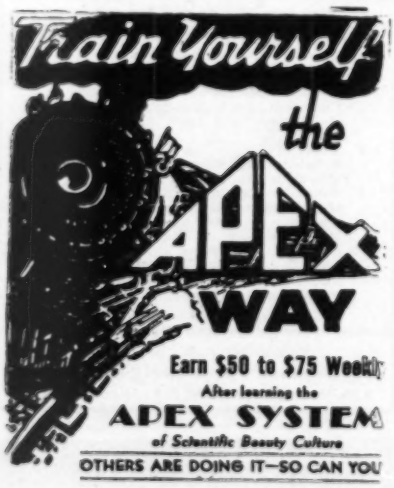
Stewart Photo

Miss Mary K. Moore

Enrollment figures at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY and MOREHOUSE COLLEGE took a decided jump at the mid-semester registration, according to registrar John P. Whittaker.

Recent events at Atlanta, Morehouse, and Spelman include the following: A discussion of hospital librarianship at Atlanta by Mrs. Sadie P. Delaney, librarian of the Veterans Hospital at Tuskegee; At Morehouse, observance of American Brotherhood Week, with an address by President Benjamin E. Mays (citations offered by the National Conference of Christians and Jews were presented to three students at the college); memorial exercises for John Hope and Samuel Howard Archer, former presidents; seventy-ninth founder's day celebration, with Dr. Edward J. Fisher, assistant director of the Institute of International Education, New York, as speaker; and an address by Rabbi Eugene Blachsleger of Temple Beth-Orr, Montgomery, Ala. At Spelman, Captain Sir Hubert Wilkins, world-famous explorer and scientist, explained the importance of the north pole in future world travel.

XAVIER UNIVERSITY at New Orleans, La., the only private school of higher education sponsored for Negroes by the Catholic church, is now a member of the United Negro College Fund, Dr. Patterson, president of the fund, has announced.



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Editorials

Terror in Tennessee

THE terror that broke out in Columbia, Tenn., in the late afternoon of February 25 and before dawn February 26 fulfilled predictions of many persons that mob violence would be used after the war to force the Negro back into his "place."

For the Columbia incident was terror, pure and simple. A colored woman thought she deserved better service from a radio repair shop than she received. The radio repairman, recently discharged from the Navy, disagreed. He slapped her; her son, also recently discharged from the Navy, knocked him through a plate glass window. There it was, an assault case, a police court matter.

The woman and her son were released on bail, and when mumblings were heard, they were rushed 42 miles to Nashville for safety. Stories flew about the town. A lynching would be held that night, it was said. Late in the afternoon, a scant block from the Negro district, a mob *did* call at the jail and the sheriff did have to disperse it after telling the members that Mrs. Stephenson and her son were not there. A lynching *was* in the air.

This was the atmosphere when night fell, when the Negroes retreated to their own district and barricaded themselves against the clearly indicated trouble. No lights were showing when four of the town policemen went into the district. To the inhabitants they were white invaders, members of the mob that had called that afternoon at the jail, white people who had been rumored to have purchased rope to stage a lynching that night. Shots rang out and all four of the policemen were wounded.

The town, with four of its eight policemen shot, called on the state authorities and before dawn a force of 500 men, highway patrolmen and state guardsmen, all armed with sub-machine guns, had surrounded the Negro area and were having a field day, shooting looting and wrecking. Homes were searched without warrants and where persons did not answer the door, troopers shot into the dwellings. Every colored person and every Negro home and business establishment was searched for weapons, but white civilians roamed the streets armed with rifles and other weapons and were not molested. More than 100 persons were arrested, of whom only two were white.

The NAACP, acting by long-distance telephone, had investigators and lawyers on the job from Chattanooga and Nashville within a few hours, but until petitions for writs of habeas corpus were filed, the authorities ignored requests for the release of the persons held. The NAACP has been designated by the victims to defend them in court, and a national committee to raise a defense fund has been organized by the NAACP with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Dr. Channing H. Tobias as co-chairmen.

We have gone to some pains to outline in detail the Columbia incident because in all likelihood it is the pattern which certain reactionary forces in the South would like to see imposed to, as they say, "put the Negro back in his place." The Columbia occurrence emphasizes that, as usual, Negroes and whites do not agree on that place. It would seen to indicate, also, that Negroes, even in small communities like Columbia where they were outnumbered almost 3 to 1, do not intend to sit quietly and let a mob form, threaten, and raid their neighborhood.

If Columbia is not to become the pattern of terror and repression in these years after the war, the law enforcement officials and the mayors and governors will have to take swift, impartial steps to keep order, and not merely to persecute Negroes. Once the idea gets abroad that whites are free to do as they please, that Negroes are fair game for police, and that Negroes may not depend upon any authority, local, state or federal, for equal protection under the law, then we will have terror, riots, bloodshed, and death – and Storm Trooper Fascism in the flesh.

The Gillem Report

THE long-awaited Gillem report on the use of Negroes in the future army appeared March 4. The War department used high-pressure sales methods on some members of the National Negro Publishers Association, releasing the report to them three days in advance of the regular date, at a closed conference in Washington. The result was that one influential Eastern seaboard weekly gave it a streamer headline: "Army Marks End of Jim Crow Policy." Another weekly told its readers: "New Army Policy Spikes Jim Crow."

We don't know what the War department spokesman told the publishers, but we do know that the Gillem report *does not* end jim crow in the army. For an analysis of the complete report, see page 106. If this "new" policy is what was supposed to make Negroes favor peacetime conscription, then sombody will have to think up another policy.

Hats Off to YWCA!

THE Young Women's Christian Association deserves the thanks and support of every Negro American, and of all liberals, for its resolutions adopted at the Atlantic City convention last month setting up a policy of non-segregation in its organization.

The delegates voted to bring the Negro members into the mainstream of YWCA life, to integrate them fully on committees, and to open facilities to them hitherto reserved exclusively for whites. It also voted that in communities where segregation was firmly intrenched by law it would plan and execute inter-group and inter-club activities in a conscious effort to break down segregation.

It is undoubtedly true that the YWCA may not be able to make this policy work at once, overnight. There will be prayers, and struggles and travail of one sort and another. But the ladies have resolutely set themselves the task and have indicated they intend to work toward its accomplishment. No more heartening action could have been taken by any great Christian body at this critical time of skepticism and cynicism. Hats off to the YWCA!

And the Church Council

HARD on the heels of the YWCA action came a resolution adopted by the convention of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing 25,000,000 Protestant members, which denounced segregation in churches and in American life, and called upon its members to work actively for its elimination. Unlike the YWCA, the church body is a federation of denominations. It can pass resolutions and make recommendations, but it cannot force each denomination to act. However, its resolutions exert a powerful influence, and the effect of the anti-segregation statement is certain to be felt widely, not only in the denominations, but in community life generally.

Army Air Forces Photo

The non-commissioned officers failed in leadership . . .

Still a Jim Crow Army

By Roy Wilkins

THE long-heralded Gillem report of the War department on the use of Negro personnel in the postwar army was made public March 4, and while it is a study which acknowledges mistakes of the past in utilizing Negro troops, it does not live up to the advance reports that it would abolish segregation in the future army.

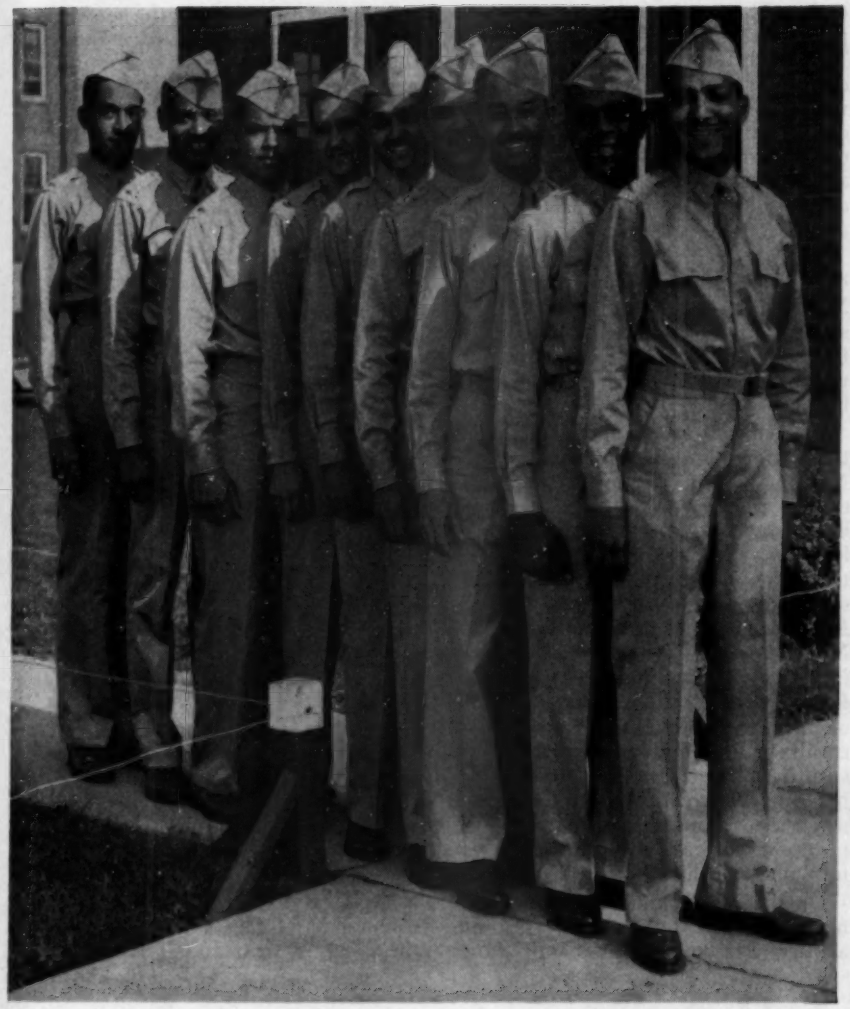
Since the policy of segregation was the basic cause of unrest and low morale and instances of poor performance among Negro troops, it was reasonable to expect that the Gillem report would attack the basic cause.

For many months it has been hinted by sources close to the War department that the new army policy on Negroes, embodied in the so-called Gillem report, would put an end to segregation in the army. In a close examination of the report, however, the author finds that Jim Crow is still the policy

But it does not do so except to allow for the placement of a few specialists and technicians here and there "in the framework of the overhead units at army installations where Negro personel with special skills can be utilized to advantage as individuals."

Still Jim Crow

The basic policy is still jim crow. Instead of having big jim crow units like the 92d and 93d infantry divisions (15,000-18,000 men) we are to have nothing larger than jim crow regiments (3,000 men). Throughout the report the reference repeatedly to "Negro



Signal Corps

. . . the junior officers lacked "leadership qualities."

units" shows that the board members never got out of the thought pattern of segregation.

At the outset, in naming the five points to be covered in the recommended "new" policy, the board states No. 2 as "Organization of Negro units." In speaking of the questions raised, the board names No. 2 as "What basis of Negro personnel is necessary in the postwar army in order to provide for rapid expansion in time of war?" Later, in referring to this trained basic personnel, the report declares, "This nucleus can assimilate a much larger proportion of the available Negro manpower than was done heretofore," which means absorption and better training of Negro units by the Negro Regular army personnel.

Further evidence that separation is to continue as a policy is found in the summary statement: "all types of Negro units should be included in the peacetime army. These units should eventually be officered by Negro officers."

In the light of the clear language of the report it is difficult to see how some of the weekly newspapers could hail the announcement as ending jim crow in the army. The board itself in a supplementary memorandum stated the ultimate objective "at some unknown date" as utilization of manpower, *"in the event of another major war* (italics ours) in the army without regard to antecedents or race."

Admits Mistakes

Although the failure to abandon segregation as a policy is disappointing (and conceivably may defeat the other excellent recommendations in the report) the Gillem document represents a long step forward by the War department.

First of all, (and this must have caused many a red face among the brass) it admits frankly the failure of the department to make plans for the use of Negro troops in all categories in World War II. It admits that Selective Service brought in more Negroes of training, education, and ability than the War department dreamed were available. The department was caught flat-footed by this influx.

Not only did it not have any plans for using these men, but it could not even talk their language. The screening process uncovered engineers, masters in mathematics, electricians, radio men, biologists, doctors of philosophy, experienced personnel workers, skilled mechanics and other technicians, and thousands of men with the educational background that entitled them to specialized military training. Says the report:

"Considering the advances made by the Negro civilian during the period between World War I and World War II and the increase in numbers available for military service, it is concluded that adequate plans were not prepared for the ultimate utilization of this manpower."

Under the heading "Disadvantages Accrued to the Negro" the report states

"Although it was definitely known that the Negro manpower would amount to approximately 10% of the manpower available for war, plans were not prepared prior to World War II for mobilization and employment of major units of all arms. This resulted in some instances in a disproportionate allocation of lower bracket personnel [men of little education and skill—Ed.] to combat elements.

"Likewise, no provisions were made initially for utilizing the Negro manpower in supporting type combat units. These eventually embraced all categories. *This latter condition apparently resulted from the pressure initiated by the Negroes themselves.* (italics ours).

Progress of the Race

In addition to admitting a basic error on the part of the War department, the report represents forward progress because it recognizes and sets forth for the first time the position and progress of the Negro as a citizen. This section must have caused some soul-searching and some coughs and choking among the brass, also, because it is a direct reversal of the 1940-42 position of the department on Negroes. At that time, even at so disastrous a moment as the day after Pearl Harbor, the department contended stubbornly that the position of the Negro as a citizen had nothing whatsoever to do with his utilization as a soldier. The department, it said, could not concern itself with "social

problems"; it must train men and win a war.

But now, with the war behind and with lessons learned in the hard way (riots, shooting, insubordination, protests, low morale and poor performance) the report asserts that the Negro is an American citizen "enjoying the privileges conferred by citizenship under the Constitution." It outlines the progress of the race in living and health conditions and financial resources. It declares: "During the last few years many of the concepts pertaining to the Negro have shown changing trends. They are pointing toward a more complete acceptance of the Negro in all the diversified fields of endeavor. This trend has been noticeable to a greater extent in the northern and western sections of the country. The Negro to a greater extent, has been accepted in industry, and in administrative and scientific fields, both as individuals and groups, with good results."

It points out that 40% of the Negroes in World War II who came from the North and West had from one to eight grades in schools, and that 53% of them had one to four years of high school, while 7% had from one to four years of college. Of the Negroes from 12 southern states, 64% had some grade school education and 32% had some high school training, while 4% had some college education. On the college level, northern Negroes were only five points behind all the whites in the war. Out of every 100,000 whites, 12,000 had some college work; out of every 100,000 northern Negroes, 7,000 had such training. In connection with these statisticss it must be remembered that only one-fourth of the Negroes live outside the South.

All these statements and statistics indicate clearly that the Negro as a citizen has made greater progress outside the South; that is, outside the area where segregation is in effect by law and custom. Although this points logically to the conclusion that the Negro makes better progress in civilian life and consequently more valuable contributions under non-segregation, and could be expected to do the same in the military establishment, the Gillem report dodges the point. It also dodges the other headache of the effect of jamming these Negroes from non-segregated areas into a segregated military pattern.

Faint Praise for Fighters

The report is distinguished by the faint praise accorded Negro combat units. "The least proficient performance," it says, "has been derived from combat units which were required to close with the enemy to accomplish a prescribed mission." But it praises as "eminently successful" small infantry composite units, "Negro platoons in white companies." It also states its conviction from testimony submitted that Negro supporting type units such as an artillery battalion, will execute combat duties "in a satisfactory manner."

In contrast to its comments on combat units, the report declares that Negroes in service type units "demonstrated their highest degree of efficiency" and that service units functioning in direct support of combat performed "most creditably."

The curious aspect of this section of the report is not its emphasis on Negroes as service troops (which was to be expected) but its condemnation by inference (which the board doubtless never intended to convey) of the traditional army pattern, both as to segregation and categories for Negroes. For it has been in the infantry that the Negro has had the longest and most intensive training in the army. The Regular army has had two regiments of Negroes in infantry and two in cavalry. Presumably the army has a wealth of experience in training and handling Negro infantry units. Yet it was these troops, according to the report, which gave unsatisfactory performance in "closing with the enemy."

On the other hand, it was the much newer supporting combat types like artillery and tank destroyer units which gave good service. Futhermore, the Negro platoons which are praised for their service in white companies in Germany were made up of volunteers from service units, hastily trained for infantry combat.

The question arises. What was wrong with the army's time-honored program for training Negro infantry units?

Lack of Leadership

The report blames leadership, saying: "The failures of Negro units have in almost every case been attributed to the lack of leadership qualities of junior officers and non-commissioned officers." It recommends a broader Negro base of both officers and enlisted men to eliminate this fault in the future.

But does this explain the conditon? Note that the report mentions junior officers and non-commissioned officers. In Negro units these were all Negroes. All (or practically all) senior officers in "Negro" units were white. There were few, if any, Negro line officers with the rank of captain (company commander) or above. This writer was present at the maneuvers of the 93d infantry division in Louisiana in 1943 when it was being prepared for overseas duty. In the midst of the war game, the War department triumphantly announced to the assembled news writers the promotion of the *first* Negro to be a line officer and company commander. This man had been in the army 18 years and it is safe to as-

British Combine

Artillery battalions acting as supporting type units executed combat duties "in a satisfactory manner."

Signal Corps

"Many Negroes . . . are now craftsmen. . . . "

sert that he knew as much about heavy machine guns and mortars (except for refresher work on new gadgets) before 1943 as he did when promoted, yet he had not been promoted.

Now, everyone knows that junior officers and non-coms are very important, but who would contend seriously that the failure of an entire infantry division can be laid to these men? What about the white captains, majors, lieutenant colonels, colonels, and the major general in command? Do they, who supervise training, plan strategy, lay down division policy, maintain morale, and otherwise build a fighting machine —do they have no responsibility whatsoever for failure? Must the sergeants and first and second lieutenants bear all the burden on their shoulders?

Policy at Fault

Moreover, if some of these subordinates did fail, how much blame attaches to the army policy itself? Did these men originally lack leadership qualities as the report implies, or did the army do something to them to stunt their development and crush their abilities and ambition? Three examples come to mind. At Camp Lee near Petersburg Va., eleven Negro sergeants were summarily demoted and given immediate overseas assignments when they presented to their commanding officer a list of grievances and suggestions for better treatment of the enlisted men. The leader of these sergeants was a graduate of the University of Minnesota. His father was a graduate of Dartmouth and a successful civil engineer. This sergeant had training, ability, and intelligence. His superiors refused to nominate him for the officer training school, on the ground that such a man was desperately needed in the non-commissioned ranks. Yet when he and his ten colleagues attempted to try to tell their superior, through regular channels, what would improve men and morale, they were chopped down.

What incentive, it may be asked, did these men have to demonstrate leadership qualities and get the most out of the men under them?

Leaving aside for the moment the assertion that new men coming into the army lacked the civilian experience upon which leadership could be built, the army policy on Negroes in its Regular establishment was not conducive to leadership development. The veteran Tenth cavalry had been broken into three parts and stationed at Ft. Leavenworth, Kans., Ft. Meyer, Va., and West Point, N. Y. The men were serving as hostlers and grooms for the mounts of officers. The Ninth cavalry, stationed at Ft. Riley, Kansas, was

Chief-of-Staff Eisenhower

down to about one-third of its regular strength—less than 1,000 men. The Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth infantry regiments were far below strength and the Twenty-fifth is reliably reported to have been unarmed because Georgia officials did not want an armed Negro regiment in the state.

It was from these regiments that training cadres had to be recruited for the new hordes of Negro selective service soldiers. Could these few men, neglected by their army all these years, having spent their time mostly in marking time before retirement, be expected to furnish the necessary leadership in non-commissioned and junior officer ranks?

Another example comes directly from Italy where the 92d infantry division is alleged to have "failed." At the very time when these junior officers of the 92d were expected to lead and inspire their men in a death struggle with the Germans intrenched on the mountain tops of Italy, they were barred from the officers' club of the division and told to go to the "Negro" officers' club! Could they have morale? Could they lead and inspire their men? Could they believe in the cause for which they were supposed to fight? The white captains, majors, and other high officers of their division went to a "white" club for relaxation, they to a jim crow club. What chance had an *esprit de corps* to develop in that outfit?

Officers' Clubs

Moreover, when the 92d and 93 infantry divisions were being trained at Fort Huachuca in Arizona—all preparing to fight together overseas—the white officers went to the Lakeside club and the Negro officers to the Mountain View club. Does the Gillem board believe that leadership could flower under these conditions?

While the report is courageous in admitting some errors and urging new approaches, it is unfair in this instance. This unfairness, buried in a long report, is all the more hurtful because an underlying and ill-concealed concept of the War department over the years has been that Negroes are in some innate manner incapable of making good officers. This Gillem charge, without any compensating reference to instances of good performance, and without evaluation of circumstances, keeps that fallacy alive.

Further on the matter of officers, the report recommends "that all officers, regardless of race, be accorded equal

(Continued on page 125)

Signal Corps

His technical level has also risen.

What Happened at Columbia

This is the report of an investigation made by Maurice Weaver, lawyer of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Z. Alexander Looby of Nashville, Tennsessee, member of the National Legal Committee of the NAACP

ON Monday, February 25, 1946, at or about 10:00 the Stephensons, Mrs. Stephenson and her son, James Stephenson, went into the Castner-Knott Electric Appliance Store in Columbia, Tennessee. Mrs. Stephenson believing that the faulty repair work done on her radio was not what she had paid for declared to the radio repair-man that he was taking her money without giving her full value. The radio repairman being the brother of the sheriff-elect of Maury County was indignant and slapped and kicked Mrs. Stephenson. Whereupon her son reacted by hitting the man who had assulted his mother. At that time the Stephensons were assulted by people on the street and attacked by police officer Frazier, who hit at the young man, James Stephenson, and when Mrs. Stephenson declared that the police officer should investigate the facts, she was struck over the eye by the officer. Various people witnessed the incident from across the street and will testify to the above facts. They are Negro people in part and presently are afraid and in great fear for their lives and ask that they not be named as witnesses in this matter.

The sheriff being the chief law enforcement agent for Maury County is hereafter quoted. Due to the fact that he is charged with this responsibility as a most responsible person in the County, the sheriff made the following statement to Maurice Weaver of Chattanooga regarding the developments after the assault on the Stephensons.

The Sheriff Explains

After the incident of the attacks on the Stephensons, the sheriff declared voluntarily that he was in court at the time the incident occurred and that reports reached him in the court that a Negro and white man were involved in an affray but that they had been placed under arrest and were in custody. The sheriff declared that he remained in court and continued about the court business until the court adjoined at or about 2:00 o'clock. During that time, however, he heard rumors and reports of the development of mass public opinion against Negroes in the community. After he was out of court he went back to the jail and thereafter was about town and the ominous threat of mob violence against the Stephensons, so he declared, came so forcibly to his attention that he called Mr. Saul Blair and other Negro citizens and asked them to cooperate with him to the end that they might be able to take the Stephensons out of town to avert possible and probable mob action.

Press Association, Inc.

The pain-distorted face of a man injured in the rioting.

At 6:00 o'clock, according to the sheriff, there was a mob of white men congregating on the public square at the courthouse numbering approximately seventy-five (75). The sheriff declares that he asked the mob of white men to disband and to go to their homes and thereafter went into the Negro section and talked to Mr. James Morton giving him assurance that he and all of the Negro people would be protected against the mob that was congregated on the public square. The sheriff declares that after he talked to Mr. Morton he came back by the public square; the mob was still formed and assembled, and after the sheriff returned to the jail a mob of white men came down to the jail at about 6:30 or 7:00 o'clock at night on Monday, February 25, and kicked on the door of the jail. The sheriff reports that he responded by throwing open the door and levelling a tommy-gun on them; whereupon they demanded the release of the Stephensons to them. The sheriff told them, he declares, that he would not permit mob violence to be committed against the Stephensons if they were in jail, but that they had already been released (mother and son are now reported to be in Chicago) and thereupon told the mob to disband. Two white men were so drunk that they were unable to get away and were placed under arrest for being drunk. No charges as far as we were able to determine were placed against them for inciting to riot or mob action.

Lynch Action Threatened

After the arrest and after the mob action for the declared lynch purposes, there continued to be mob and lynch action on the public square less than one block from the Negro section. There is definite and concrete evidence that members of the mob had purchased rope and declared they were doing so for the purpose of hanging the two Negroes.

The Negroes were so afraid lest their section be invaded they turned out all the lights in the principal Negro business sections of town. The only illumination was at the center of the block on East Eighth Street and Chaffin Alley. During this time the city police went into a dark street with no illumination to show that they were policemen. The Negroes were afraid lest the mob was moving in on them. A cry was set up that "Here they come," and then there was firing. No one knows who fired the shots but the policemen were shot.

Thereafter the police retired from

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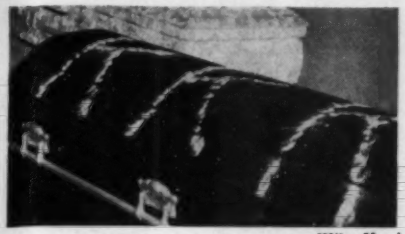


Wiles-Hood

Note the "KKK" on the blue coffin in Morton's funeral home.

the business section and following it the sheriff reports a cordon of State Patrolmen and Guards were thrown around one block of the Negro section so that no one would be permitted to enter that section. After the official control of the Negro business section had been established, and at about dawn on Tuesday morning, members of the State Patrol and the State Guard entered the section, firing into various buildings and invading these business establishments, committing officially the following vandalism.

Gestapo-Like Vandalism

They shot out windows, broke up the show-cases, tore up the cash register taking about $60.00 in money, broke and robbed the piccolo, tore up the radio, threw the pool table balls away, cut the cloth off, broke up all tables, chairs, tore the top off the frigidaire, knocked the clock off the wall.

In Dr. Hawthorne's place they threw out all the instruments and generally destroyed his office. In the Atlanta Life Insurance Company office they destroyed all files and records and at the Morton Funeral Home they likewise destroyed all records, broke chandeliers, lights, venetian blinds, cut up draperies, broke floor lamps, file cabinets and sprinkled white powder on a navy blue casket and marked on the casket "K K K." They soiled all caskets. The barber shop was shot into and completely wrecked after the State Patrol had entered and had the situation under control. The four barber chairs were completely cut up and destroyed, the big mirror shot up, all electric clippers were taken out, and the premises completely destroyed.

It is significant that the entire section, after it was under control and in the hands of the State Guard and the State Highway Patrol, was invaded and wanton destruction of property occurred. Thereafter the sheriff declares the State Highway Patrol and State Guard, it is assumed, were acting under his orders went to all the Negro homes removing from them all arms. In the

(Continued on page 125)

Wiles-Hood and Acme

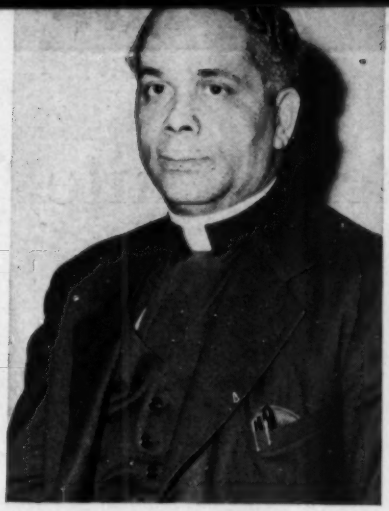
These are not wrecked Jewish establishments in Nazi Germany, but Negro businesses in democratic America. Top, note the looted nickelodeon, broken clock, tables, etc., in the Blair brothers' place. Middle, the Blair barber shop. Note slits in leather of chairs, broken mirrors, etc. Bottom, as usual only Negroes are rounded up. Of the seventy odd persons arrested only two were white.

Roy Wilkins champions FEPC at Madison Square Garden rally, February 28. Ensign Samuel Gravely, executive officer of the subchaser PC 1264, receives congratulations of his skipper Lt. J. W. Sutherland (left). Maj. R. R. Wright Sr., Philadelphia, Pa., places wreath at the Liberty Bell during ceremonies marking National Freedom Day.

PEOPLE RECENTLY IN THE NEWS

Prime Minister Attlee laughs with Fl/Lt. P. L. U. Cross of Trinidad at reception to representatives of allied air forces.

Circle, Cecil Emmanuel, Jr., 3-month-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Emmanuel, Dallas, Texas, youngest member of Dallas branch. Bottom left, A. Phillip Randolph, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and former Mayor LaGuardia at FEPC rally in New York. Len. G. Robinson of Bakewell, Tenn., principal of the Bakewell school shown holding one of his prize chickens.



Robert H. Gaines receives meritorious civilian service award for 28 years service in office of Secretary of Navy; the Rev. John M. Coleman, rector of St. Philip's Episcopal church, Brooklyn, N. Y., receives appointment (first Negro) to Board of Higher Education, New York. And Evelyn Poetiray, treasurer of Perhimpoenan-Indonesia, addresses a mass meeting in Amsterdam, Holland.

Lester Granger receives distinguished civilian service award from Navy Secretary James Forrestal.

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

Young celery eater in Florida nibbles on a stalk.

Before "Sugar Child" Robinson can beat out the jive on the piano he has to get elevation. Pictured below fourth from left is Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk, one of American educators who will help revise Japanese educational system.

Black, White, and TVA

By James Rorty

Down in Tennessee the citizens of the Negro hamlet of Bakewell, with the help of TVA, have made of their community a green Canaan

ABOUT thirty miles north of Chattanooga the highway climbs into the barren chert hills where nature, left alone, would seem indisposed to grow anything better than broom sedge in the gullied clearings and scrub oak and jack pine in the scraggling second and third growth forest. The region is inhabited by a surprisingly dense population of Negro and white farmers, the proportion varying with the locality.

Almost anything can happen in that kind of country, provided it is unhealthy and unpleasant. Like malaria, until the TVA engineers began tricking the mosquitos by suddenly raising or lowering the water level in the Tennessee and its local tributaries, Sale and Oppossum creeks. Or like the snake worshippers farther east over the Virginia line. One of them died from snake bite in a Chattanooga hospital while I was there and a newspaper photograph showed his widow petting the pitted head of the reptilian slayer.

The trouble goes back to the soil. Chert is a kind of half-disintegrated silica rock, made of weathered impure limestone. Being nothing much but piled rock fragments the chert hills drain readily—almost their only virtue from the standpoint of the agronomist. So that if you drill in some phosphate and are thereby enabled to tie down the chert with legume cover crops, you stand a chance of getting your money back in the form of the strawberries or peaches favored by the climate of short winters, early springs and late frosts.

Believe it or not, an enterprising orchardist, son of a poor white hill farmer, grossed $400,000 worth of peaches last year—although nobody seems to know what he netted, which is something else again.

What kind of stable agriculture this country can ultimately support is something that the TVA agronomists and their state and county collaborators have not yet fully determined. They've made a start, however; a good start at rehabilitating both the soil and the people. And as an inicidental but inescapable part of the job they have been obliged to do some quite impossible things like dealing intelligently with that ancient "insoluble" problem of race relations.

TVA

Mrs. Len Robinson of Bakewell holds one of her prize chickens.

The TVA people didn't dream up any new ideologies, nor did they import any wonder boy sociologists from points outside the valley. All they did was to set up an area demonstration centering around the pioneer Negro community of Bakewell, and bring in some of the new TVA superphosphate with which to spark the growth cycle on those no-good chert hills. Then, to keep it going, they mobilized the personnel, all southern and all white, of the existing state and local agencies. Among the numerous functionnaries involved were the county agricultural agent and his assistants, including the home economist, a squad of experts from the state agricultural college, and the vocational teacher of the high school ten miles away across the creek.

The effect of phosphate on soils that lack it is little short of magical. Clover and lespedeza clothe slopes where only worthless weeds would grow before, pull nitrogen out of the air, and when plowed under provide a layer of bacteria-rich, water-retaining humus. Gradually the whole plant, animal and human ecology moves into an upward spiral. The broom sedge and the thistles depart and the red clover perfumes the green and springy pastures. You don't have to plant it. Seemingly, the seed was there all the time, waiting for the food that would enable it to grow to visible size.

The human seed grows, too, and flowers. You don't have to plant it or change it or worry about the color of its skin. It was there all the time, waiting to be nourished with a little food and a little hope.

The Community of Bakewell

In the Negro community of Bakewell I saw the black seed growing and flowering everywhere with a kind of terrible urgency—it had waited so long And I saw the whites standing by and helping, skilfully and alertly, but without affectation or patronage—in fact, without any disccernible race consciousness at all; merely a kind of honest, hard-bitten professional zeal.

But if the white performance was impressive, the Negro performance was simply extraordinary. In less than ten years, starting in 1936 when the TVA land buyers and agronomist appeared on the scene, the forty Negro families of Bakewell had literally lifted themselves out of the baked and barren chert and started to build their green Canaan all around them.

Worthless? Lazy? Helpless?

I wish the people who repeat these stupid clichés would spend a day or a week in Bakewell, see what I saw, and talk to some of the people, both black and white, to whom I talked. I wish especially they would talk to one thin-faced, shy and intense Negro whom I first saw driving an ancient iron-wheeled tractor past the village store.

"That's our best farmer," said the storekeeper, who is also the college-trained school teacher. "Get him to tell you what he's being doing."

My TVA companion knew the man. His 30-acre farm includes one good,

This is a sample of the thin cherty soil, subject to easy erosion, that was helped by TVA phosphates and line.

moderately sloping meadow of an acre and a half from which, with the aid of TVA phosphate, he had harvested a hundred bales of good hay. The rest consisted of pine woods and deeply gullied slopes—so shrewdly patched and terraced, however, that healthy apple trees were already growing on them, along with a half-acre of strawberries. His chickens and hogs were healthy, his truck garden flourishing, his cabin well-built.

All this, plus the tractor, he had acquired or built with his own hands during the eighteen months he had been driving sixty miles a day, back and forth to a war job in Chattanooga, 365 days of the year; in fact, the plant gave him a bonus and a big turkey for perfect attendance. Now, in addition to tending to his own farm, he did custom plowing all day.

"When do you sleep?" I asked.

"Don't need much sleep," he replied. "Two hours, sometimes three. That's enough."

I looked at the sharp bones that almost cut the deep black skin of his cheeks.

"Listen," I said, "You don't want to get sick. Why not ease off a little now that things are going well!"

He smiled with a kind of tolerant contempt.

"What I'm worrying about," he said, "is how do I get lights on that tractor."

He wasn't sick. He was lean and tough as hickory. And deeply happy inside, needing neither sympathy nor advice.

By now he's undoubtedly got lights on the tractor. Probably he's got a combine too, because the community needed one so it could raise its own grain to feed its animals—it takes too much time to cradle it. Maybe he's acquired that 150-acre tract of land he had his eye on. And he's never read Horatio Alger either.

An Exceptional Man

The man is exceptional, of course. He's not going to be stopped, any more than you can stop the clover from springing up once the phosphate starts working in the soil. And the whites aren't trying to stop him. They're helping him, in spite of some rather uncomfortable racial contrasts, of which I saw a couple of examples.

Two gaunt white men came into the store while I was there. They looked like something out of a clinical nurtitionist's textbook. Obviously they had been living too long in those chert hills without minerals, vitamins—or hope.

Without the slightest change of manner the Negro storekeeper asked a little Negro girl to wait while he served them with perfect courtesy. (Not all the local whites are like that, of course; the successful orcharhist already referred to started from scratch and from all reports is a person of extraordinary energy and ability.)

The storekeeper, too, is exceptional, like his college-trained wife who last year won the state chicken-raising championship. A while back this somewhat unorthodox storekeeper became fed up with the obstinate reluctance of his customers to cultivate kitchen gardens. For a month he stored away the accumulation of empty vegetable hampers. Then one day he piled them all on the porch of the store, called the community together and spoke his piece.

"Look at all those hampers," he said. "Think of all that foolish money you've been paying me for vegetables you should have raised yourselves. I'm through selling you-all vegetables. You get busy and raise them yourselves. I'm through selling you-all vegetables. You get busy and raise them yourselves from now on."

They did, most of them.

The storekeeper's uncle, who lives half a mile up the road, is exceptional, too, without doubt. He is 67-years old and looks fifty at most; a magnificently built descendant of Bakewell's founder, the circuit-riding preacher who about seventy-five years ago settled his flock on the 2,000 acres of wild land between Sale and Possum creeks.

They called it Pleasant Hill then; the woods were full of deer and wild turkeys. But the lumber companies slashed the forests, and the cattle grazed too close on what was left. On the gullied chert slopes the corn grew more feebly each year, so that after a while it didn't even pay back the seed. The whole ecological spiral moved downward. In the pastures the broom sedge and golden rod crowded out the clover, and Pleasant Hill was no longer pleasant.

How did the people live? Nobody seems to remember very clearly. They were poor and getting nowhere; just "jumping up and down in the same place." Some of the men "pulled coke" in the plant at Soddy, twenty miles away across the Greek. Some moved away and more would have done so if they had had anything with which to move.

It was at this period, during World War I, that my TVA friend, then the local county agricultural agent, became acquainted with Bakewell and with Emmett, the storekeeper's uncle. There wasn't much he could do. Obviously, the land needed phosphate and

Bakewell community children attend a modern school, of which Len Robinson is the principal *(See p. 112).* *The school building is also the community meeting place where members of the soil improvement association gather to make their plans.*

the people needed cheap proteins more than anything else. So he brought Emmett and his neighbors some phosphate and a bag of kidney beans, with the injunction to work the land three times before they planted them. They would then share the crop in the proportion of one to four, this being a wartime practice designed to increase food production, the usual custom being for the county agent to induce some prosperous townsmen to advance money for the seed. But this time the agent forgot to put the "bite" on the rich man so that he himself was left holding the bag, so to speak. Shortly afterwards he enlisted in the army.

Meanwhile the rain fell, the sun shone, the phosphate took hold and the beans grew and bore abundantly. Soon the county agent's wife received frantic messages to come and get her share of the beans. She collected several bushels, but more messages kept coming until she rebelled. Too many beans.

Emmett, who hadn't seen his white benefactor for thirty years, recalled the episode with shouts of laughter. Yes, Bakewell had picked up a little as a result of Emmett's success with beans, which others had emulated. But later, it had fallen flat on its face again. Yes, the Triple A land-withdrawal deal might have given them some more phosphate, and thereby some more beans—except that they never heard of it until too late.

As for Emmett, he had taken a flier in peaches and strawberries.

Autobiography spilled from him: the annals of the poor which are never either short or simple, but always long and lurid. He'd lost $800 on peaches—not enough capital; he'd been unable to spray his crop. Being in debt that much, he had had to break up his home and move to Detroit where on a belt line job he'd made enough in four years to save that $600. Then he'd come back, paid of his debt, kept house with two of his boys and put them through school while his wife and two older children were in Detroit. In 1936 when the TVA appeared on the scene he'd got the farm going with TVA phosphate and cover crops. Now he owned three farms totalling 150 acres. His sons were in the army and his wife was back. See, the house was clean, and the wife had canned vegetables for the winter. Now, at 67, he planned to go ahead and make some real money raising purebred dairy heifers, an enterprise which my TVA friend considered entirely practicable.

Superior Genes?

All these four people—Emmett, the storekeeper and his wife, and that Negro tractor opeartor—are admittedly exceptional. Biologically, they doubtless represent highly fortunate combinations of genes. . . . The point is that those superior genes never had much of a chance until TVA came along with its phosphate and the elementary agronomic horse sense of the county agent and the agricultural teacher.

From Bakewell we drove south over the Alabama line into the cotton country south of Huntesville. There most of the soil is deep red, limestone based, and naturally fertile. In former years King Cotton, plus absentee ownership, had impoverished both the soil and the people, but now the whole landscape had had its face lifted. Terracing of the gentle but heavily leached slopes had checked erosion. TVA phosphate had spark-plugged the conversion from the disastrous one-crop cotton economy into a mixed cotton, clover, corn, and cattle agriculture. Soil, plants, animals, and people were all visibly climbing the ladder of increasing productivity, health, and prosperity.

The leading farmer of the TVA demonstration area is a former Tennesean, born in the fertile Central Basin twenty miles north. Fifteen years ago he and his wife left the paternal mansion in the blue-grass country, white columns and all, to live in a three-room tenant cabin near the gin house of a big but badly run down plantation. The previous owner had lived in Birmingham and permitted ruthles mining of his soil capital by managers and tenants.

The Tennesean made out well from the beginning. After he began using TVA superphosphate and the pattern of soil use and crop rotation long recommended by the land grant college agronomists, he made out very well. TVA's virtual elimination of malaria also helped; you no longer saw Negroes lying beside the road shaking with chills and fever.

Formerly two-thirds of the plantation's 2,000 acres was in cotton. Today

(Continued on page 126)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Scurlock

PICKET LINE AT ULINE ARENA *in Washington, D. C., has been in operation since early January. Uline's policy bars Negroes from hockey games and the ice-capades while soliciting their money for boxing events and circuses. These two forms of entertainment Mr. Uline terms "low-class events for low-class people." Many Negroes, too colored to be admitted to his "cultural" shows, still cross the picket lines to attend low-class exhibitions. Hundreds of white people have been shocked to learn of the facts through the picketing. Yet no white newspaper has ever printed the information. Another picket line of the Washington branch still operates against the AAU boxing shows at Turner's Arena.*

COLUMBIA "RIOT"

WILL DEFEND COLUMBIA RIOT VICTIMS: Ninteen national organizations pledged their total cooperation to defend all of the Negroes charged with various offenses in connection with the Columbia, Tennessee, "riot", starting February 25, at a conference called by the NAACP, on March 14, in the Wendell Willkie Memorial Building, New York City. Those pledging their aid include the American Veterans Committee, the Council for Democracy, the March on Washington Movement, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, New York Council for Permanent FEPC, the National Lawyers Guild, the CIO-PAC, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, the National Urban League the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, Imperial Lodge, Elks, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Friends of Democracy, Freedom House and the Young Men's Christian Association.

The steps decided upon include the supplying of all necessary legal defense. The NAACP has already retained Maurice Weaver, young southern white lawyer of Chattanooga and World War II veteran and Z. Alexander Looby, well-known Negro lawyer of Nashville. Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Counsel, is leaving for Tennessee shortly to perfect, in cooperation with Messrs. Weaver and Looby, plans for defense on the basis of the Maury County Grand Jury action.

Other steps decided upon at the conference included an appointment of a delegation to confer with President Harry S. Truman and Attorney-General Tom Clark to insist upon more vigorous federal action against the mob who attempted to lynch Mrs. Gladys Stephenson and her son, James Stephenson because the young Negro war veteran defended his mother when she was kicked and struck by William Fleming, white radio repair man.

Because the newspaper stories written by Columbia and Nashville newspapermen conspicuously failed to mention that the initial assault had been made by Fleming and not by the Stephensons, and gave only the mob's side of the story, a nationwide campaign of publicity through paid advertisements, radio broadcasts, and the publication of literature, the holding of mass meetings and other means of informing the country of the truth of the Columbia

"riot" was voted. All the defendants except one have requested in writing that the NAACP defend them.

NATIONAL SCENE

OPPOSES NATIONAL GUARD SEGREGATION: Action on the resolution passed by its Board of Directors opposing segregation in the National Guard was taken in March by the Association in a letter signed by Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the board, addressed to General Amos T. Brown, Adjutant General of the State of New York.

The letter unqualifiedly condemned the segregated policy of the New York State National Guard and pointed out the evils of training fighting men in separate units which were so apparent in the war just recently concluded.

APPEAL TO BE MADE IN FLORIDA RAIL CASE: Stating that Mrs. Bertha Mae Watkins, of New York City, was a passenger in interstate commerce and therefore not subject to local regulations concerning the separation of races in jim crow states, the NAACP, through its legal department, announced it would appeal the conviction and fine of Mrs. Watkins in a Jacksonville, Florida, court last week.

Mrs. Watkins was en route from New York City to West Palm Beach, Florida, and was riding in a reserved seat in one of the coaches of the Atlantic Coast Line's Champion. When authorities asked her to move to the "colored section" of the train she refused to do so.

At Jacksonville, Florida, Mrs. Watkins was taken off the train for allegedly violating the jim-crow law and disorderly conduct. At the trial no disorderly conduct was shown except her refusal to move to the "colored section."

CHURCHILL SPEECH: The speech by Winston Churchill, wartime premier of Great Britain, at Westminster College in Missouri March 5, "would virtually insure continuation of imperialism," the NAACP declared in a statement.

"Great Britain's policies toward colonial peoples which have been continued by the present labor government," said the NAACP, "can cause only shudders of apprehension as far as Churchill's proposal of an Anglo-American coalition is concerned."

NEW AWARD FOR BRANCHES: Ike Smalls, member of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, from Des Moines, Iowa, announced at the March meeting of the board that he would donate a loving cup each year to the branch of the Association which, on a percentage basis, showed the greatest increase in membership.

In making the announcement, Mr. Smalls said that he hoped the first award would be made at the 1947 Annual Conference of the Association which would be for achievement made in 1946.

COOK FOR DIGNITARIES

Cook Ulysses Threlkeld places a roast in the oven as he helps to prepare the meal served President Truman and former prime minister Winston Churchill during their visit to Fulton, Mo.

ARMY

NO BAN ON MIXED MARRIAGES: U. S. Army theatre commanders abroad have not prevented the marriage of American Negro soldiers and women of the countries in which they were stationed according to Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of War.

Replying to a letter from the NAACP, Secretary Patterson said that "no incidents such as alleged in your letter" have come to the attention of theatre commanders. Secretary Patterson suggested that specific facts such as names, ranks, serial numbers, and location of the unit of complainants would be helpful in conducting a thorough investigation.

The NAACP is furnishing to the War department the several specific complaints it has had and invites Negro soldiers to submit additional information to the national office at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

LYNCHING?

ALLEGED LYNCHING BEING INVESTIGATED: Further investigation on the reported lynching of a colored man at Elko, South Carolina, near Augusta, Ga., is being conducted by the Augusta branch, according to Reverend G. H. Carter, president.

The case was first reported to the New York office by a man who drove through Elko and sent word from Atlanta.

MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS

Top, George Paul Clarke, member of the Bridgeport branch, recently promoted to lieutenant in the Bridgeport, Conn., fire department. Lower, Clarence P. Jenkins has completed his third year in the administrative department of the Department of Public Assistance, Philadelphia, Pa. Mr. Jenkins is assistant county supervisor and is the only Negro in Pennsylvania to hold this position.

CLEMENCY PETITIONS

The NAACP has filed clemency petitions in behalf of the following:

Clarence W. Harding, who will be released early in March, the Association has been advised by the War department; Samuel Hill, formerly a sergeant in the 93rd Infantry Division. Hill was convicted of raping a native woman on a Pacific Island and sentenced to life

GIFT OF APPRECIATION

Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson is pictured here receiving a gold watch and a scroll in appreciation for the ten years of faithful service she has given as president of the Baltimore, Md., branch.

imprisonment. NAACP lawyers contend the evidence does not sustain the conviction. Hill was never identified by the complainant, and the record is full of conflicting testimony; Arthur Manns, Jr., convicted of a charge of larceny by a military court at Kelly Field, Texas, last December. Manns was given a dishonorable discharge and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Clemency has been asked of the Secretary of War in the death sentence imposed upon Leroy Steen by a court martial in France last May. Steen was found guilty of first degree murder, but Thurgood Marshall and Franklin H. Williams of the NAACP legal staff contend the charge was not proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

And Ernest Stewart now confined in a Federal penitentiary under sentence of a General Court-Martial. Stewart was charged and convicted of assault with intent to kill upon a white superior officer and was sentenced to 16 years at hard labor. The petition pointed out that Stewart had been convicted on evidence which, in a civil court, would have called for acquittal. At the court-martial, no proof was offered that Stewart had fired at his superiod officer. The petition emphasized the gross errors of law committed by the court and it alleged that Stewart would have been acquitted, in all probability, if it had not been for his race.

MISCELLANEOUS

VETERANS' HANDBOOK: The NAACP has just issued a 24-page handbook for veterans. The booklet contains information about the GI bill of rights and other topics of interest to veterans. Veterans or their families may secure copies from NAACP branches, from the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, 100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 1, D. C., or from the national office, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

JIM CROW TRAVEL CASE POSTPONED: Oral argument in the Irene Morgan case, originally scheduled for March 7, was postponed by the United States Supreme Court until the week of March 25. This case will test the segregation of Negroes in interstate travel, and will mark the first instance in which the U. S. Supreme Court has been called upon to rule directly on the segregation of interstate passengers on public carriers.

WINS RIGHT TO VOTE: Right of the Rev. Primus King to vote in the Democratic primaries of Muscogee county, Georgia, was upheld in New Orleans March 6 by the United Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth district. The case was argued February 19, and the NAACP legal staff filed a brief amicus curiae, supporting Rev. King.

NAACP DONATES $200 TO SUFFERERS: A donation of $100 apiece to the India League of America and the Council on African Affairs for relief purposes was voted by the NAACP board of directors at its March meeting.

REGISTRATION HEAVY: According to reports the registration of Negro voters for city, county, and state elections in West Palm Beach, Fla., outnumber whites by almost 2 to 1. It is estimated that of the 2,800 persons who have registered since the books opened January 2, three-fourths are colored. Practically all Negroes are signing up as Democrats.

CONTRIBUTES TO STRIKE FUND: After an appeal by a committee of strikers against the American Tobacco company at its regular meeting in February the Trenton branch took up a collection of $40 for the strike fund. Dr. Henry J. Austin is branch president.

CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE NAACP: To Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham, president of the YWCA, for the full integration of Negro women and girls in the Young Women's Christian Association.

To Bishop C. Bromley Oxnam, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, for the council's adoption (at its March sessions in Columbus, Ohio) of a resolution condemning segregation as "the pattern of American race relations."

EASTON, PA., MEETING

Pictured are some of the notables at the Easton, Pa., meeting of the NAACP. From left to right, Mayor Joseph of Easton, Mrs. Paul Robeson, and Carl Keyser.

New Secretary: Harold D. Snell, a World War II veteran once active in trade union movements, was recently appointed executive secretary of the Cincinnati, Ohio, branch. Mr. Snell is a native of Dayton, Ohio, and is 39 years old.

What the Branches Are Doing

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: On February 15, George E. C. Hayes, president of the Washington branch, presided at a meeting marking celebration of National Negro history week. Judge Hubert Delany, of New York, and Congressman Charles R. Savage, of the state of Washington, were the speakers. The musical program was provided by the Postal Male Chorus under the direction of Major Alston W. Burleigh.

In a telegram to Congressman John Coffee, chairman of the House appropriations committee signed by Dr. E. B. Henderson, the branch repeated its oposition to the removal of the National Tourist Camp from the District to Daingerfield Island on the Virginia side of the Potomac River.

ILLINOIS: The Tri-City branch sponsored a benefit meeting of various social, civic, church, and industrial organizations to help the striking employees of Case and the International Harvester company. A substantial donation of cash and canned goods was presented to strikers' representatives and continued support was pledged. Leon R. Harris, president of the Tri-City branch, and Mrs. Charles W. Toney, president of the Davenport branch, were co-chairman of the meeting.

MARYLAND: Under the sponsorship of promotional secretary Mrs. Virginia J. Kiah, the Baltimore branch has organized the Associated Groups for a permanent FEPC. Over one hundred organizations in the state are affiliated with the group, chairmaned by a white minister, the Rev. Asbury Smith.

MICHIGAN: Charges of mal-practice and intimidation of a police witness were filed with the grievance committee of the State Bar Association by the Detroit branch against Herbert E. Munroe, attorney in the Vivier drunken-driving case.

The complaint was submitted on behalf of Arnold Greer, NAACP member, who was a police witness in the Vivier case. Munroe was charged with doing property damage while leaving the home of the Greers, of threatening the witness with the KKK, and of representing himself as a prosecuting attorney.

The branch has requested Governor Harry Kelly of Michigan to appoint a Negro to fill the vacany in the Recorder's Court caused by the death of Judge Van Zile. The branch has also set up a special committee on housing.

Reverend Charles A. Hill, branch president, testified at the housing hearings called by Michigan congressman on February 14-15. Rev. Hill made a vigorous attack on restrictive covenants.

WEST COAST REGIONAL OFFICE: The regional office, San Francisco, invited local representatives of national organizations established in recognition of need for new efforts in the field of group relations to meet with Walter White early in February. An interchange of ideas and programs on problems that will shape policies convinced the thirty-one representatives that a liaison between community groups would be of mutual service in the post-war period.

Mr. White emphasized the interest of the national office in the West Coast situation because patterns are not so nearly set there as in other sections.

The group heard of the establishment of the Hollywood bureau to secure casting of the Negro in other than menial, and stereotyped roles. Mr. White also described activities in Seattle, Portland, and Los Angeles.

MICHIGAN: Rev. Charles A. Hill, president Detroit branch, issued a call for a city-wide mass rally on covenants which was held at Bethel AME church, February 17. Atty. Willis M. Graves reported on the seven NAACP cases pending before Circuit and the State Supreme Court.

"The NAACP is fighting a legal battle against improvement association which have huge funds to keep Negroes hemmed in through protection of restrictive covenants" Hill said. "The NAACP believes that the only way to attack these pernicious practices is through the courts. All citizens are urged to attend the mass rally and to send contributions to the Restrictive Covenant Campaign at 606 E. Vernor."

Assistant prosecutor William P. Long, postponed for one week decision on a warrant asked by Lonnie Saunders, 6425 Vinewood, against the proprietors of a restaurant on Adelaide and Riopelle. Saunders charged assault and battery and violation of the Michigan equal accommodations law after being beaten by the daughter of the proprietor with a rubber hose.

According to his story to the NAACP,

Story of the Month

This story comes form the Atlantic City, N. J., branch.

The recent threat of a nation-wide telephone strike brought these workers into the spotlight. In Atlantic City four colored girls employed by the local company have been declared by the manager to be highly efficient and valuable. They are Miss Helen Curry, Fisk graduate; Miss Gloria Yearwood, product of the local schools; Miss Esther Moody; and Miss Dolly White.

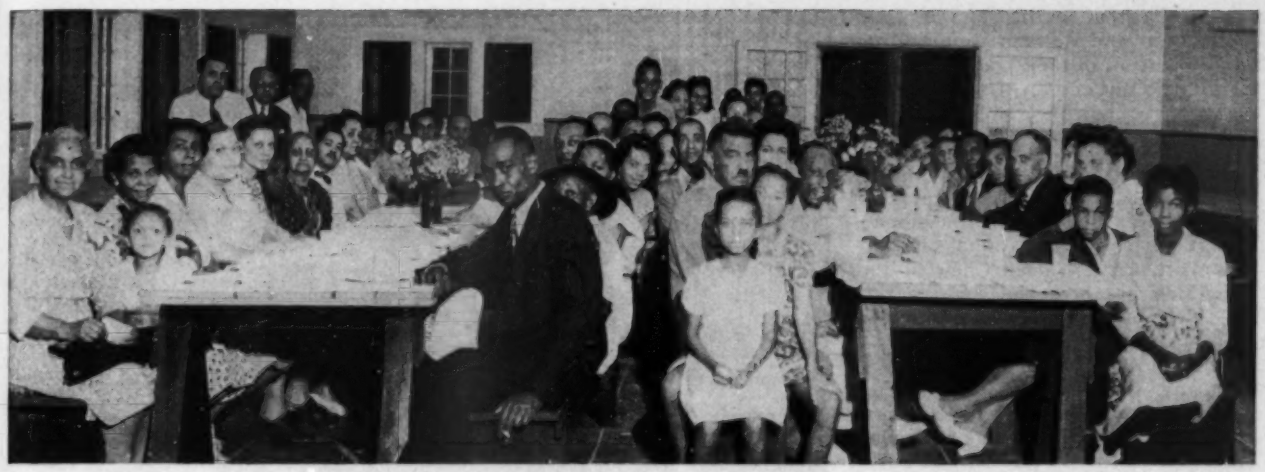
So quietly and unostentatiously were these girls taken into the company that few people knew of the struggle the branch had in order to bring this about.

When the telephone company started a training class in October, 1943, the three Negro girls who had applied were not called in. E. A. Curtis, division manager of the New Jersey Bell Telephone company was then called in, but after coming to Atlantic City and reviewing the case he stated that there would be no adavtange in further discussion. On April 13, 1944, Mr. Curtis was sent a letter asserting that discrimination had been practiced in violation of both state and federal law and that the branch would use every means possible to see that the law was carried out.

In May the branch filed complaints with FEPC, which showed that two girls had been hired during the fall and winter months, and that another had just been taken into training. Yet none of the Negro girls had been called.

On June 5, 1944, Willard T. Grinnage of FEPC came to Atlantic City to review the case for the local branch. On May 16, 1945, FEPC notified the Atlantic City branch that after conferences between the central office of FEPC and the New Jersey Bell Telephone company, the company had "reconsidered its position with respect to employment of Negroes as switchboard operators, and that immediate employment would be offered to qualified Negro applicants."

Two weeks later, two qualified Negro girls went to work, and have remained with the company ever since.



THIRD ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION—*Members of the Piqua, Ohio, branch are pictured here picknicking in celebration of the third anniversary of their organization.*

Saunders, meat inspector for the Detroit Board of Health, working in the Eastern Market area, went into the restaurant to eat lunch on January 31. He was told by the wife of the proprietor before placing his order that Negroes were served in the kitchen only. Saunders called the police asking that a patrolman from Hunt Station be sent to witness the denial of service. He then returned to his seat at the counter and asked service. Coming from behind the counter, the daughter of the proprietor began flaying Saunders from behind with a rubber hose. The proprietor also came from the kitchen and joined the fray.

Protecting himself, Saunders alleges that he struck the proprietor giving him a black eye. Customers separated the participants.

Saunders is asking a warrant for assault and battery in addition to a warrant charging violation of the civil rights statute. The proprietor has also lodged a charge against Saunders for assault and battery.

The Detroit *Free Press* has confirmed its "policy of not using racial identification in reporting crime news"; while the Detroit *Times* has reaffirmed its policy of making the designation "when the crime is major"; it has been announced by Gloster H. Current, executive secretary of the Detroit branch. These affirmations came in response to protests made to the three Detroit daily newspapers against their use of the race label in reporting the unsolved death of a dope addict in Paradise Valley.

A Detroit Negro youth has been denied admittance to the Marine Corps because of the low quota and restricted use for Negroes in that service, it was revealed by Gloster B. Current, executive secretary of the Detroit branch. A protest by the National Office of the NAACP to the secretary of the Navy is now in process, Current reported.

The young man denied admission to the Corps is Robert Bellmay, 18, of 18451 Binder, a January graduate of Pershing High School.

Bellmay secured permission from his draft board to enlist in the Marine Corps. He went to the Marine Corps recruiting office in the Griswold building on January 28. There he was told that the Negro quota had been filled and that he might reapply in March or April. Several white applicants were accepted at the same time, Bellmay alleges.

In reply to a phone call by Current, Captain Wilson at the Detroit Marine recruiting office explained that enlistments of Negroes were confined to reenlistments of men already in the Corps; that Negroes were accepted only for the commissary corps.

TELEPHONE OPERATOR—*Miss Helen Curry, attractive and efficient telephone operator in Atlantic City, N. J.* *(See "Story of the Month," p. 121)*

Efforts by the Detroit branch to secure a stay of Bellmay's induction pending some action on the case have been turned down. He was scheduled for induction on February 1.

OREGON: A brief outline of the 1946 program of the Portland branch is as follows: Union of all forces working for Negroes: organizations, churches, clubs; renewed and intensive membership drive; renewed battle for Civil Rights law organizing for promotion of political interests; economic opportunities: better jobs for Negroes, policy toward stores which refuse to hire Negroes, encourage and promote educational courses, etc., and advertise civil service examinations, work for qualified Negro police, firemen, etc.; definite stand on housing situation; state-wide committee on Negro-White relations to be appointed by the governor, plus city committee appointed by the mayor.

Monroe Sweetland, recently returned from four and one-half years service with the Allied War Relief, American Red Cross, was speaker at the regular meeting of the Portland branch.

Warren Erwin, a state representative, nominated by the Multnomah County Democrats in 1944, brought a rebuke from the Oregonian when he went on record in support of segregation in Portland.

Former state representative Richard L. Neuberger, recently discharged from the army, was a speaker at the February 16 meeting of the Portland branch.

Frank Ward, chairman of the committee on labor and industry, has started action regarding the employ-

ment of Negroes in the Safeway store at Broadway and William avenue. Over seventy percent of their trade is Negro, yet they do not employ a single Negro clerk.

PENNSYLVANIA: The Willow Grove branch reports great progress during the year 1945. Some of the speakers who appeared before the branch were Robert Carter of the national office in New York City; Warren Chew of the Bryn Mawr branch; and Arthur Harris, vice-president of the Lamont branch.

The 661st Quartermaster Truck Company, stationed in Germany, forwarded the sum of $171 to the branch as a donation and coverage for membership fees.

The Philadelphia branch is now located in its new headquarters in the Fellowship Commission building at 260 15th Street. The new quarters consist of three spacious rooms on the third floor.

A fifteen-year-old boy who was beaten by a police officer, and a young girl who was manhandled by the same officer when she protested in behalf of the boy, both lost their cases on charges they had filed against the officer. The case was fought bitterly by the branch through Eugene H. Clark, attorney and head of the legal committee.

In 1946 the Philadelphia branch is going to seek 25,000 members in Philadelphia, according to an announcement of Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, branch president. In making a plea for an expanded membership, Magistrate Rainey stated that present conditions and portents made it imperative that Negroes from every classification, category, and strata of life combine for the securing of every right guaranteed under the Constitution to every American citizen.

On February 15 the Philadelphia branch moved into its new quarters at 260 South 15th Street. The branch occupies the third floor of the building, as a member, along with eight other member organizations of the Fellowship Commission. The new quarters have a library, conference rooms, and an auditorium.

The branch threw the full weight of its 17,000 members behind the demonstration for the FEPC bill in Washington through representation of its president, Joseph R. Rainey, and its executive secretary, Charles A. Shorter.

Floyd Logan, former head of the Educational Equality League and a zealous champion of racial rights in the city's educational world, and Charles L. Hopkins, considered an outstanding authority on veterans affairs, were on the list of names of committee chairmen announced by Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, recently installed president of the branch.

NEW OFFICERS *of the Elizabeth, N. J., youth council.*

The full list of committee chairmen announced by Rainey were: Logan, education; Hopkins, veterans; Joseph Faison, finance; Eugene H. Clarke, Jr., legal redress; Julius Belcher, labor and industry; Mrs. Elizabeth Young, entertainment; Rev. Thomas Logan, youth; George B. Morris, sectional development; Bernard Childs, housing; and W. Randy Dixon, press and publicity.

The Philadelphia branch reports that its legal department handled more than thirty cases during 1945. These included such classifications as discrimination, withholding of pay, shootings, assault, cruelty, job bias, and topical matters concerning the welfare of the Negro-at-large.

In addition more than 100 complaints were investigated and in most instances where the circumstances warranted it, adjustments were made by arbitration, agreement, or mutual understanding.

Many of the thirty cases handled and completed required outside assistance and the cooperation of ministers, citizens, and outside organizations. One of the most typical was the case of James Harmon, a 17-year old youth of 2310 N. 27th Street, who was shot by Patrolman Abraham Fishman, at 33rd and Dauphin Streets.

Mass meetings were organized by churches in the victim's neighborhood and many citizens, including one soldier, volunteered to testify against the offending officer.

Eugene H. Clarke, Jr., NAACP attorney, handled the case in such an effective manner, according to Judge Raymond MacNeille, who presided at the trial, that the jurist commented after a jury acquitted the officer on charges of assault and battery with intent to kill, "Apparently the officer did not have to shoot the boy. The jury passed on it, I didn't."

VIRGINIA: Principal speaker at a recent meeting of the Charlottesville branch was Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia.

At the February 3 meeting of the Cumberland branch the following officers were elected: Mrs. Bernetta Booker, president; J. F. Lipscomb, vice-president; Mrs. Dolly Fleming, secretary; and N. C. Booker, financial secretary.

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'On the Beam' With Youth Councils

NAACP YOUTH WEEK: The fourth annual observance of NAACP Youth Week will be held April 28 through May 3. The challenging slogan will be

"We're Not Too Young." Preparations should be made now to present programs around the aims and achievements of the youth groups in the churches on Sunday, April 28, before school assemblies and in chapels during the week and over the radio wherever it is possible. The people must be educated to realize that youth can plan, achieve and lead. Tags will be available for sale as usual and this office should be notified as soon as possible as to the number of tags desired by each council or chapter.

NEWS FROM THE YOUTH FRONT

DETROIT, MICHIGAN: NAACP Youth groups in the Detroit area launched a youth development fund drive on March 1 which extended through March 30. This drive was to raise funds to support and extend the youth program of the branch, which is under the direction of Miss Roberta McGuire. There are ten units of the Detroit youth council participating at the present time.

The PRINCE HALL unit voted to send letters of protest to several Hollywood producers on the casting of Negroes in roles derogatory to the race after an address by Margaret Walker, manager of "Sugar Chile" Robinson, on their experience with Hollywood producers. Telegrams and letters were sent urging support of FEPC, 65¢ minimum wage and OPA legislation. An open forum on compulsory military training was conducted with Cadet Edward Wells of West Point as principal speaker.

A letter to the superintendent of schools was sent by the NORTH END unit calling his attention to the need of a better physical plant and an enlarged curriculum at Miller high school.

An Officers Training School for NAACP youth council officers is being planned by the BREWSTER unit. The school will be conducted weekly and will give information on how to conduct meetings, record minutes, etc.

The WAYNE unit engaged in a nonviolence campaign against restaurants refusing to serve colored students; is investigating the University's policy of not putting colored and white students together as locker partners; and was host to the student body with an "Open House" for Negro history week; and carried an editorial in the school paper on "Negro Leaders" for Negro history week.

The CENTRAL and INKSTER units of the Detroit youth council have been active also, but space does not permit news from them in this issue.

PAINE COLLEGE: The Chapter has been conducting an education program for the benefit of the members of the freshman class. It is organizing a youth council in Augusta and is campaigning to get unregistered citizens registered to vote. Mr. Henri Freeman is president and Miss Annie Pinckney, secretary.

"I'd really like to, but I already have one!"

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND: Six-year-old Jamesetta Holliman, pianist, was among the participants on the NAACP youth talent program held at the Sharp Street Methodist church under the direction of Mrs. Kathryn Sedgewick, youth director. Miss Goldie Green, Marian Anderson scholarship award winner, sang and was warmly received by the audience of approximately 700 persons. Others on the program were the Junior Choir of the Orchard St. Methodist church, Mrs. Helen A. Mosby, director; Miss Mary Butler of Morgan State College and Miss Leona Perkins.

COLUMBUS, OHIO: The youth council discussed the FEPC at its last meeting and made plans for the coming membership drive. The topic of discussion for the next meeting will be "Restrictive Covenant Laws in Ohio."

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND: The president of the chapter, Eugene Rahming, visited the national offices a few weeks ago and consulted with the youth secretary about ways and means of awakening the students on the campus to greater NAACP consciousness. A recent letter from him reveals that a campaign for two hundred new members will begin at the end of March.

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY: February 28 marked the opening of the youth council membership drive. It ran through March 28. Miss Margaret Morrison is secretary of the membership committee. Captains for the drive were Misses Elizabeth Talbert, Darphine Daye, Pearl Foster and Messrs. Russell Townsend, Wendell Martin and Hilton Davis. Mr. Davis is Chairman of the membership committee.

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Book Reviews

LOGAN EXPLAINS

The Senate and the Versailles Mandate System. **By Rayford W. Logan. Washington: The Minorities Publishers, 1945. VII+112 pp. $2.00.**

The Negro and the Post-War World, A Primer. **By Rayford Whittingham Logan. Washington: The Minorities Publishers, 1945. IX +95pp. $1.50.**

These two little books explain in simple language the basic facts about two of the worlds pressing problems, the mandate system and the status of the Negro in the postwar world.

In the first book, Dr. Logan points out the "similarities between the mandate system established by the Treaty of Versailles and the trusteeship plan adopted at the San Francisco Conference." When the peace treaty came to be written at Versailles in 1919, one of the bitterest bones of contention was disposal of the colonies of the defeated Central Powers. Wilson's solution was to place the colonies under some sort of international authority in order to protect and promote the welfare of the inhabitants as well as to reduce chances for later international bickering. In this plan he had the support of many liberal organizations, for they were deeply concerned with the humanitarian aspects of the issue.

But the ideas and plans of both Wilson and the liberals collided with the imperialistic ambitions of the winning powers, Britain, France, Italy, and the dominions of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. The working solution was a compromise, embodied in article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

As Logan puts it, "the imperialists got most of the substance while the humanitarians got the verbal shadow." The "substance" was that the imperialist powers got the colonies they wanted under the guise of mandates. On the other hand, the humanitarians were placated with a provision that, though individual nations would actually do the ruling, the mandated areas were to be under the supervision of the Council of the League—a body dominated by the colonial powers, both mandatory and non-mandatory.

Since the United States was a disinterested party in these squabbles, Armenia was the only mandate offered her. In Senate debate on the Versailles treaty, most League opponents concentrated their attacks on articles 3, 10, 11, 21, 22 and 23. "Articles 22 and 23 contained the most significant humanitarian provisions, and the majority of the peoples covered by them as well as by article 10 were Negroes and other dark peoples. . . . Not much enthusiasm could be expected, then, from Southern senators for a treaty that made the welfare of dark peoples a 'sacred trust of civilization,' especially if the treaty involved spending American money and sending American 'boys' to die all over the world."

"The debates therefore reveal two anomalies: the party which had to support the greatest humanitarian document presented to the Senate was most contemptuous of human rights and the party determined to defeat it was the traditional 'friend' of the Negro."

After analyzing the Senate debates on the treaty, which is the substance of the book, Dr. Logan concludes: "The reader may determine for himself the extent to which race and labor were openly expressed or latent factors in the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles which prevented the United States from joining the League of Nations."

In keeping with its subtitle the second volume offers only basic facts about the Negro and his problems in the United States, the West Indies, Latin America, Africa, and the Pacific Islands.

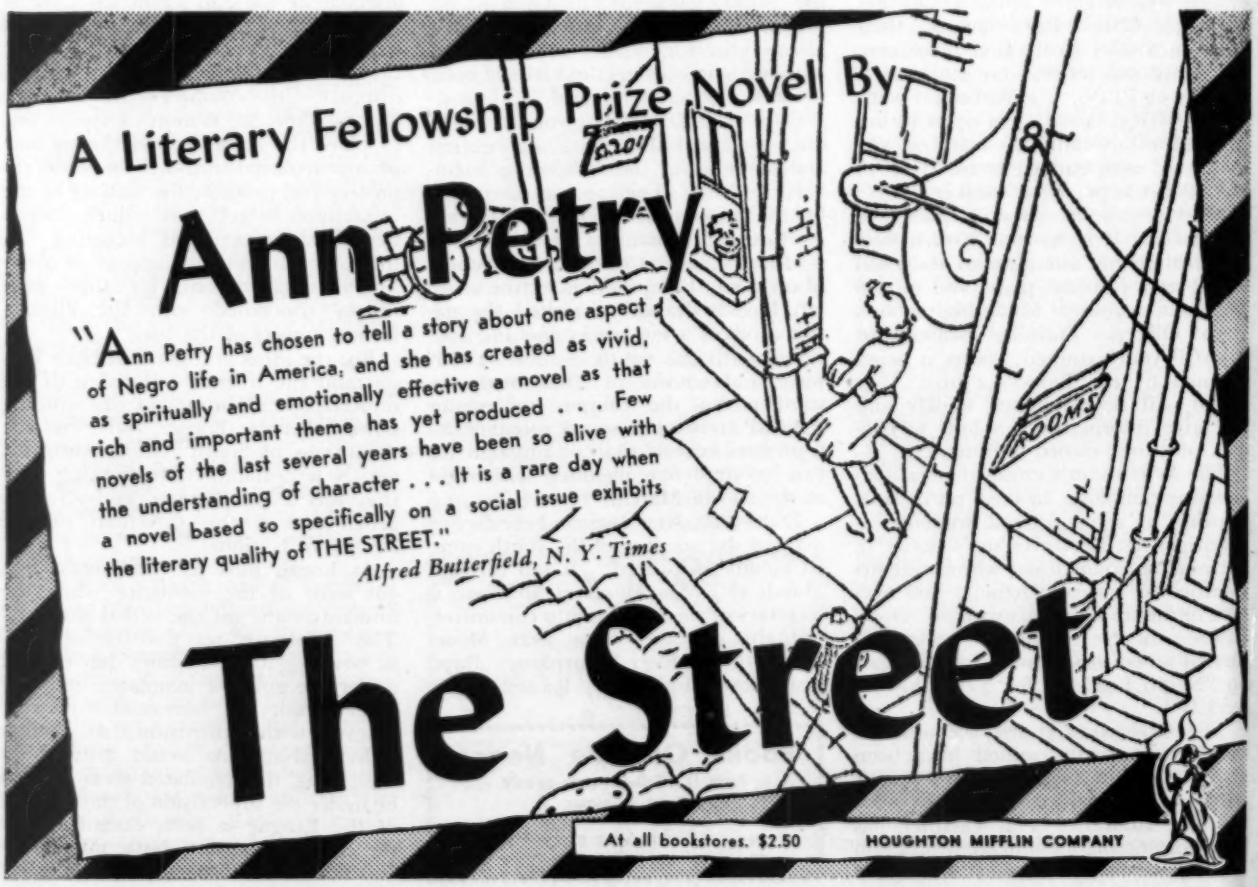
Dr. Logan uses his introductory chapter to explain the present inferior status of the Negro and to give an adequate definition of "Negro." He cites his own experiences to show how confused anthropologists and laymen are as to just what is a "Negro."

"At various times I have been taken for an Argentine, an Australian, a Canadian, a Chinese, a French West Indian, an Irishman (freckles), a Polish Jew trying to pass for a Gentile, a Polish prince (incognito). An Englishman who had long lived in South Africa insisted that I am a 'brown-skin white man' (because many Boers are probably darker than I am). But the Dominican consul bestowed the full honorary degree upon me—he put me down as white without any qualifications. On the other hand, when I travel south of Washington, I am usually invited to the reserved table in the dining car, the table reserved for Negroes."

General plan of the book is to report the Negro population of each of the geographical and political areas considered, expose their problems, and summarize their achievements, usually by citing the names of outstanding personalities.

Incidentally, it should be remarked that the author's comparison of Euclydes da Cunha's racist ideas with those of Hitler are somewhat misleading. Hitler refused to shake hands with Jesse Owens at the Olympic games in Berlin in 1936; but one of da Cunha's closest friends was the Negro engineer and scholar, Theodoro Sampaio, who helped with translations from the English for *Os Sertões*. Gilberto Freyre has pointed out that da Cunha's racism went no deeper than a desire to be *au courant* with the intellectual fashion of his period, when Gobineauism was much the fad.

J. W. Ivy.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Still Jim Crow

(Continued from page 109)

rights and opportunities for advancement and professional improvement; and be required to meet the same standard for appointment, promotion and retention in all components of the army."

This sounds fine, and *is* fine, until it is remembered that the report earlier states that Negro units "should eventually be officered by Negro officers." This can only mean that the use and promotion of Negro officers will be dependent entirely upon openings available in Negro units. If there are to be, for example, only two Negro tank units, only enough Negro tank officers will be trained—eventually—to man these units. Since the report also recommends *small* Negro units in all branches, Negro officers may not be expected to attain very high rank. The top commander of a company is a captain. The top commander of a battalion is a major. The top commander of a regiment is a colonel. No units larger than an infantry regiment are recommended.

Segregation Straitjacket

As has been asserted, the Gillem report is a step forward. It recognizes the progress Negroes have made. It would continue the present non-discrimination policy on army posts, stations and installations so that we shall have no more jim crow theatres, post exchanges, bus routes and recreation *within army posts*. It recommends the training of Negroes insofar as possible in areas and communities not hostile and prejudiced toward them. This will get rid of (we hope) such an intolerable situation as obtained at, for example, Alexandria, La. It wants Negro technicians used as specialists in certain places without segregation. It wants small Negro units used with white units in composite fighting groups as was done successfully in Germany near the end of the war. The report recommends quick implementation of the findings throughout the army.

But the report continues the segregation straitjacket which demonstrably has hindered the War department in utilizing fully the available manpower in a time of national emergency, and has blocked the effective functioning of the Negro soldier.

The thinking in terms of segregation was responsible for the failure to plan for the full use of Negroes in World War II. The segregation policy, with its restrictions on promotions, was responsible for embittering hundreds, if not thousands, of Negro officers, impairing their efficiency and that of their men. The policy of segregation delayed the training of Negro military aviators until Negro ground units could be trained to service them; and then delayed the participation of Negro fliers in combat until a whole separate squadron could be assembled. (The Gillem report does not contain a single word about Negro fliers). It was the segregation policy in large part which accounted for the disgust and lack of perspective, initiative and enthusiasm on the part of Negro enlisted personnel.

Yet this policy is to be continued. Its more crude and insulting manifestations are abolished, but the basic policy of separation remains. A Negro American soldier is still first a Negro and then a soldier. If the genuinely forward-looking items in the report are followed faithfully, the policy may change, to use its language, "at some unknown date," but today, after a costly war against the master race theory, the policy is still in effect.

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Columbia, Tennessee

(Continued from page 111)

jail were many shot guns and rifles people would normally have for hunting purposes. The sheriff declares that they had been taken uniformly from Negroes and whites for the purpose of disarming completely and totally the town. He also declared that they had been taken without search warrants.

Police Terror

All of the Negroes had retired to their homes for their own protection. The State Guard and State Highway Patrol terrorized the entire Negro residential as well as the business section. They fired into the homes, searched them and lined up all the Negroes, men, women and children, with their hands in the air, and arrested most of the Negroes in the area. All were held in jail and not permitted to get in touch with their families, friends or lawyers. All were held without bail and without formal charges.

One of the leaders arrested who was said to be a leader of the armed rebellion of Negroes for the past three years has been assistant chairman of the Red Cross drive. His business was the center for the meeting of the Red Cross drive—all monies were collected and turned over to the white chairman by him. He was chairman of the Sixth War Loan Drive and Seventh War Loan Drive. His wife is co-chairman. He represents the third generation of colored undertakers in Columbia and has been in business himself for the past twenty-three years.

Two men were killed at the jail waiting to appear before the Board of Investigation. The declared official position is that one of these men endeavored to take a rifle or gun that had been confiscated from some citizens in the town, which was in the sheriff's office, and endeavored to load this gun with ammunition from the confiscated ammunition in the sheriff's office. It is charged officially that this Negro man shot a white officer in the arm with a Japanese rifle or gun.

The entire pattern in Maury county appears to be an attempt to develop and support the idea that there has been an endeavor on the part of the Negro citizens to establish and bring about an armed insurrection; that some six or more Negroes in Maury county were endeavoring to set up a dictatorship of Negro citizens. It is further declared that ther would be no peace until whites and "good" Negro citizens organize to surmount the bad relations existing.

The entire investigation has been carried on by the State with the greatest intimidation and coercion with milling mobs of authority, so that Negro citizens held in jail have been alarmed and disturbed for their future safety and have been forced to make completely involuntary statements that may probably in the future be held or used against them.

At the request of the victims of the unlawful action of the officials in Columbia, Tennessee, the NAACP has agreed to defend the Negroes wrongfully charged with crimes and to take all necessary action to punish the local and state peace officers guilty of disregarding the constitutional rights of these people. The entire resources of the NAACP are pledged to this end, and a series of nationwide mass meetings to collect defense funds and to publicize the facts will be held.

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Black, White, TVA

(Continued from page 116)

this proportion has been cut in half, but as much cotton is grown as ever, and better cotton, standarized as to variety and certified at the one-variety gin. In addition, the plantation raised 500 head of beef cattle last year and sold $20,000 worth of legume seed.

Now the plantation owner and his wife have moved back from the highway into a new brick house with modern convenience, plus a modern version of those symbolic white porch columns. The tenant houses are looking up too. They have paint outside and running water inside, made possible by TVA power.

Social Pattern Southern

The social pattern is a carryover from the old South, but back of the white porch columns and the white patriarch's genuinely felt sense of responsibility for his land and his black dependents, one feels the onset of the accelerating forces of mechanization and industrialization. Now that his sons are back to provide him with efficient and reliable foremen, the planatation owner expects to mechanize up to the hilt with tractors, corn harvesters, and the newly perfected cotton picker. He also expects to dispense with his sharecroppers and employ more and more day labor. This, he thinks, will make possible an actual improvement rather than a worsening of the security and standard of living of his workers.

In line with this general trend, the plantation owner plans to feed his workers from the produce of a large garden acreage, tilled by the specialized gardener employed for that purpose—this last as a gesture of resigned realism induced by his repeated failures to induce his tenants to cultivate their own kitchen gardens.

Maybe this combination of paternalism and industrialism on the land will work. But there were signs that there might be a catch in it. The day before I arrived, the plantation owner had been startled by the news that a half dozen of his tenants had been jailed by revenue agents for operating crude stills. He'd bailed them out with hesitation, at a hundred dollars apiece. Seemingly what shocked him most was the disgustingly inferior quality of the moonshine—he wouldn't even feed it to his hogs.

Why, lamented the plantation owner, had three irresponsible "nigras" got themselves into such a mess? Why were they so hopelessly addicted to rolling their own follies, at no matter what cost? Take, for example, their exploitation by white agents who drove up and down the valley extracting 26¢ a week for burial insurance policies that cost at least five times what they were worth. For a while he'd tried to beat that racket by getting his tenants and workers to deposit their quarters with him. But they hadn't kept up their payments and in the end he'd had to bury them himself for nothing, this being one of the "trimmings" that went with the system.

I had no answer to these questions. Nor was I expected to urge the superiority of the all-Negro pattern at Bakewell, which not only was inapplicable in this region of large scale mechanized agriculture, but had its own peculiar catches.

For example, what will happen when the TVA test demonstration phosphate program ends. The plantation owner intends to buy his own superphosphate or basic slag equivalents, and maintain the now stabilized pattern of soil conservation and use. But will those marginal subsistence farmers in the chert hills around Bakewell be able to buy the phosphate which appears to be essential to their survival on the land?

TVA has provided no comprehensive and conclusive answers to our basic agronomic problems – let alone our problems of race relations, with which it is not directly concerned and does not meddle as a matter of policy. This much can be said, however; that wherever TVA has been with its phosphate and its grass-roots program of education and agronomic and social synthesis, all these problems begin to lose their heavy and opaque quality. The land begins to live again, and the people to work together in harmony and in hope.

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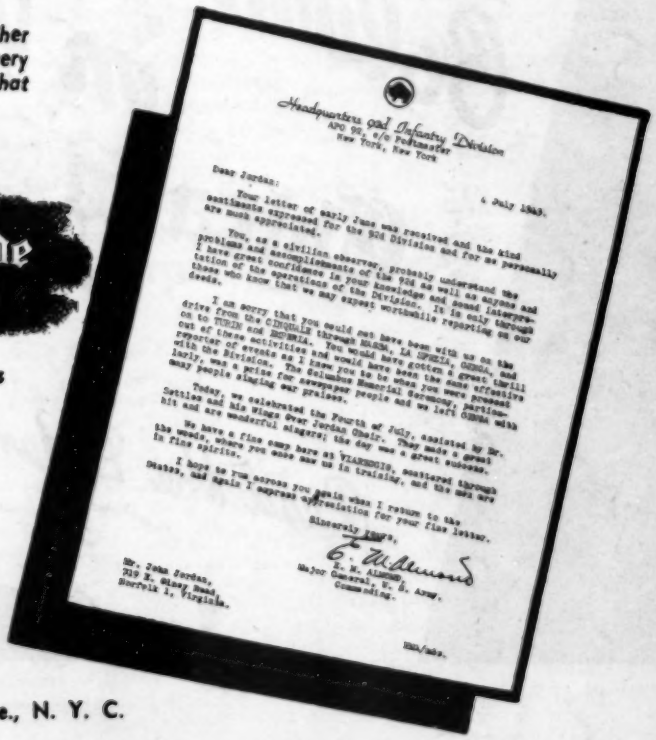

Headquarters 92nd Infantry Division
APO 92, c/o Postmaster
New York, New York

Dear Jordan:

4 July 1943.

Your letter of early June was received and the kind sentiments expressed for the 92d Division and for me personally are much appreciated.

You, as a civilian observer, probably understand the problems and accomplishments of the 92d as well as anyone and I have great confidence in your knowledge and broad interpretation of the operations of the Division. It is only through those who know that we may expect worthwhile reporting on our deeds.

I am sorry that you could not have been with us on the drive from the CINQUALE through MASSA, LA SPEZIA, GENOA, and on to TURIN and BRUNELLA. You would have gotten a great thrill out of these activities and would have gotten a great deal with the Division. I knew you to be when you were attached to my people clinging war pictures.

Today, we celebrated the Fourth of July, assisted by Mr. Cottles and his Wings Over Jordan Choir. They made a great hit and are wonderful singers; the day was a great success.

We have a fine camp here at VIAREGGIO, scattered through the woods, where you some was us in trailside, and the men are in fine spirits.

I hope to run across you again when I return to the States, and again I express appreciation for your fine letter.

Sincerely yours,

E. M. ALMOND
Major General, U. S. Army,
Commanding.

Mr. John Jordan,
719 N. Olney Road,
Norfolk 1, Virginia.

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